

[Ibubanen]

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pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclitic elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

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1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkfla (1).

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1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

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People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Tîmskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Tajburt, related to the a. Mseddât of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Idna]

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(428)
(731)

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/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/, "R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X; p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

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His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.

Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.

Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.

Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.

Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.

His son Moh'ammed u Bella Anono.

Wakrim u Bella.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.

H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.

Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).

Abdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.

/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u W'aaqqi of Tasselli).

Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).

Lh'âjj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present am-ghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.

H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.

Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.

Lh'âjj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

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[661] /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u-Mangur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'sh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ^cAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâli, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

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incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

[693] As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Abdellâ are called Cadfi. A dahir /decree/ even named a caidi, si CAbd ar-Rah'mân b. CAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qihra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

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In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedyâ /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the Cachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguías, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the Cummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Abdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
 243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
 173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
 433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
 243 a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
 43 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
 221 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
 is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
 except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
 244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
 245 turnip; accessorially the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
 433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
 [146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
 unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
 cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
 expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
 esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
 to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
 revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
 167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
 sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
 porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
 out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
 change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
 619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
 648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
 the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
 Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
 a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
 the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
 emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
 hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
 termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
646 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the mountain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below. It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

/104 cont./

171 of the Sâadians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century. X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter
221 sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hesitates to believe it.

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221 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzūyma, downstream from Bul^cwān, long contested by the Ud Besseba^c, was the dār al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Abdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchū^c or lmuch^c, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

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/104 cont./

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Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Besseba^C, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the system of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguías, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frûga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Besseba^C for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Abdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

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All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

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[628] Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost always intervillage. The intake of the séguia serving the Dwiran and the Ud Bessebâ^C is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of them. The relations with the Ud Bessebâ^C, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wād'1-Qthra and the Ud Bessebâ^C being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebâ^C, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran. Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Abdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

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133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Abdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

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1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España
/Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915,
pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous
Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la
Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict
could, at any moment, be removed to a
judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
624 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
312 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
578 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute
628 between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguías of the asif
el-Mâ1. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator,
whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to
harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
628 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
312 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are
578 more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained
[754] by the "injunction" of the âr (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in
Morocco, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

- [648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from
Aduz, in Ud Bessebâc for obtaining supplementary portions from
the séguías of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens
generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a
windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond
any strict regularity.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

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If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

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People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba^C, Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

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This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-

233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-

241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the

[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go

as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/

or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and

Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the

mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the

form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-

deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products

and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly

marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this

form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the

neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-

duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the

shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed

further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/.

on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts

that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the

pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-

making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-

sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a

sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-

tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.

[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of

the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but

according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by

221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm

241 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called

648 transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain

herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions

of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless

constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a con-

siderable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the

bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Besseba^C confines, yet
221 without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes,
648 the well-known ground of the Lmjññ. The larger part scuds
along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches,
in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^CAbdel-
mumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of
Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel
Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'amer,
it stops among the Ud Besseba^C, on their Jbayl "mountainettes"
(1).

1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Besseba^C, the
movement is indeed even greater. The herd
from the western Dir flows largely into a.
Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the fol-
lowing page in the original source/ into
Chyad'ma, up to the sea. That from the
Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952,
this return to the old wandering of the shep-
herd, and also to his privilege, was some-
times practiced according to the most modern
modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far
in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by
truck.

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The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a
also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the
distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one
side it reaches the Lmjññ, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the
Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. More-
over, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower val-
leys of the Wād l-lbūr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a.
But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the
movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain.
On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a.
H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./

233 the azaghar of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of
the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 The asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
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1. R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, *art. cit.*, "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian mesta /associating of cattle raisers/, the lies et passerries of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

2. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, La Méditerranée... /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspectives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
 221 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversibility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the
 648 people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The
 (312) mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more /116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the disposition of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel 'Ayachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tich-
 la, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tksit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

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or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

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2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

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Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmūda. (But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

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It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

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121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their
Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to
their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common
law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages.
For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this
montagnard cantonnement. They have nevertheless maintained
themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other
forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
1571 the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
1397 minder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain,
here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish
and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of
Sāharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and
dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly
danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated
the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon
reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive
attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds
of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history:
F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1/ regrets
that the study of transhumance on the
periphery of the Mediterranean has not been
carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/148 cont./

823 [192] Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity. Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color. Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand," afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that a certain soil, called aqeryan, used as revetment of a basin, no longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the reddish soil, called amachcho (1).

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

823 312 "cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construction of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab, under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible for the heat.

825 312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech, whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

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[648] in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as per-
haps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are
tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity
of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the dis-
tribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know
[171] that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European
agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical
utilization and above all of collective organization what they
gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis,
being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level
the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize suc-
cesses and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the
mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes
and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily
reach.

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Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin
may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it
to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or
several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert,
each being connected to it by its particular "intake," agder or
ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary in-
takes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distri-
bution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open,
directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the
asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies
out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the
last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur.
ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irriga-
ble by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

804) Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants
calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according
to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according
to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a cer-
tain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit).

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working
in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caïd" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type: eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Saksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqum, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

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these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzlyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas, in measures of seeds, Cabra-s, of the different population groups cultivating the Inzzlyma. There will result from it conclusions for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a country worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

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a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebç	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

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[423] arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irrigation, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that today the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the [648] Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwârt n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792]
[788] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caïd had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Tournert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

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"I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its asceticism and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ^cAziza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

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"The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ^cAmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâfi, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqih, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ^cAmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelyhood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

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(114)

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[613] ~~Few~~," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^cwān. On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

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[648] There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqu jamā^ca. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^cāfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yā u Tāfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable. The moqaddem represents the jemāa in all of its multiple interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

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[648] Present-day Morocco presents a privileged example of these variations: not so from the Seksawa, since it is a matter of their old allies, the Sofyân (1).

1. Note that the name Sofyân is that of a goff in the Gourara, cf. E.-F. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, 1910, p. 153.

They have been relegated, as is known, to the hills with heavy soils, ending in a swampy estuary, of the Gharb. They divide this territory with another Arab tribe, the Beni Mâlek. Madly tangled division! In the present terminology, no "fraction" that includes both the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek. And the "douar" itself often makes up the two appurtenances (2).

2. Direct inquiry and Michaux-Bellaire, Le Gharb /The Rharb/, 1913, pp. 325 sq.

On the map, the posting of the latter in two hues figures a check pattern, something absolutely similar to what has elsewhere been called the "chessboard of the teff-s." Only here the genetic fiction has acted fully. One does not refer to parties or leagues, but to two tribes. There the difficulties begin. Only the Sofyân have a history (3).

3. Well known by G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, 1913, cf. index.

Nothing tells us about Beni Mâlek before the maraboutic crisis of the sixteenth century. They were then courageous champions and knew, with al-^cAyyâchî, their time of preponderance. But no one knows where they are from or where they come from (4).

4. Nevertheless ^cAbd ar-Rah'mân b. Zaydân, Ith'âf, 1929, t. I, p. 171, placed them already

491 /17 cont./

184 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.

[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west
133 by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likourmt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma'cho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

226 /21 cont./
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primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
361 often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
648 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

175 Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever
177 been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

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000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took
• 648 place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long
177 waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the
182 beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mus-
361 sulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/35 cont./

* 175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
 167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
 174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, set-
 101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marra-
 kech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are
 brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of
 the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgite of the Sirwa, the Ait
 Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant,
 who without doubt came from the land of the Ait Semmeg of the
 north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Ait 'Amer,
 Ait 'Aisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same
 name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the
 Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus
 live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social
 group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not ex-
 clusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners
 who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of
 emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in
 origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migra-
 tion toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the
 steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by im-
 perceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth
 conquered by sedentary living.

* 175 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
 • 648 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan
 South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over
 all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not use-
 less to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that
 joined together the tribes from which the big families of the
 Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since
 the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the mara-
 boutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has
 disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
 [101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
 • 648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
 101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
 [616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
 *175 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
 619 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
 648 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
 *631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
 *631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples; in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
 178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
 619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the alliance of the elements out of which are formed the large confederations and the tribes (1);
 *631
 *634
 *829
 [113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/122 cont./

*631
159 Moreover, his influence is exerted well beyond the boundaries of his fief. Thanks to his cleverness, to his deep knowledge of all the intrigues, he makes himself heard by all the independent minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the region of the high summits. His friendships suffice for him to make security prevail on the trails of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Atlas. Finally, by means of his alliances with the Arabs of the plain of the North, old Mtouggî maintains valuable relations with the other Maqîl tribes remaining in the Sous and the Sahara. Wary, prudent, even crafty, master in the art of intrigue, he is adept at double dealing, but resolute also when it is necessary. /123/ most often pitiless; his name is feared and respected in all the tribes of the western Atlas.

*631
-648 On the rough coast of the Ocean, the old confederation of the Haha, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for centuries, closely controlled at present by our "bureaux" /offices/, it, too, formerly knew the organization of the great commands. At the time of our conquest, two powerful lords were fiercely contesting for power there: Mohammed Anflous was governing the tribes of the North, and 'Abd er-Rahman Gellouli those of the South. Won over to France for a time, these two enemy chiefs became reconciled in order to betray us; defeated and put to flight by our troops, they had to make way for minor kaid without true strength, who at present hold all their authority from the investiture of the Sultan.

*631
159 These two great kaid of the Haha, who disappeared at the time of our arrival in the Moroccan South, had themselves shared the political legacy of the great chief that El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi was. The lowliest shepherd still knows his name and successes, and the poets have not ceased to sing his glory. Originating from the Ait Zelten, 'Abdallah ou Bihi had, as we said, led all his tribes in the name of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to the conquest of the Anti-Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 142.

*631 /127 cont./

*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
[721] to be very violent" (1).
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in
Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

*631 Such are the Ait Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of un-
yielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the com-
rades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shep-
herds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs
who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be
believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft,
Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains re-
spected as far as these inaccessible summits.

•[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal au-
thority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the
Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent
revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère
/Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed
that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole
source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of
our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace
and security prevail everywhere.

121
*631 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*634 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to dis-
cover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us
to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of
the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise au-
thority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already
know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly
over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining
independent at the border of the great commands. On the other
hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

/129 cont./

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619
[361]
[131] Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of [178] the territory it is the A't Ou 'azzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the A't Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the A't Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

• [648] The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, A't 'Amer, A't A'issi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
 *631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
 *634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekfont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

[669] Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït Abdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
 *634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
 [178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arba'in" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our
 • [648] intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their

[578] secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
 *634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
 [578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
 recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
 evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
 mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
 /makhzan/ (1).

• [648]

1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their ex-ample a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
 619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
 121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
 all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
 autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
 [178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
 [174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
 help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
 region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
 *634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït Abdallah, Aït Qalla,
 619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgît, have up to now escaped
 [669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
 [712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
 sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
 large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
 enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
 *634 fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

121 /140 cont./
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*631

The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kaby-
177 lia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaid's settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaid's speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.

[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaid's hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was

*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
•648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaid's. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/141 cont./

*631
• 648

Nevertheless, between these two opposed political regimes, -- the government of the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies and the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- intermediate forms were often born in the least accessible parts of the country in the mountains, the very ones that could, thanks to their distance, escape the too-brutal consequences of the furious struggle between two naturally hostile forces. One then saw emerge the minor chiefs who tried to assemble all the forces of the country remaining free, in order to pit them one last time against the feared domination of the Makhzen. Nearly always, it is true, these champions of independence betrayed the cause that they claimed to serve. Having become masters of tribes, they were able, at the favorable moment, to hurry along an evolution henceforth inevitable and made themselves agents of the central power.

*631

We can indicate the successive stages of the political evolution from then on.

[642]

In all the regions screened by distance or difficulty of communications from the direct action of the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the democratic or oligarchic republican organization is here, as in all North Africa, the form of government spontaneously chosen by the Berbère /Berber/ communities; still the power of tradition is not so great that one does not see appear sometimes, by means of struggles of families, a still precarious and ephemeral personal power.

*634

When circumstances are favorable, the "amghar" who has succeeded in elevating himself above the notables of his small canton manages to consolidate what de Foucauld happily called "a despotic power." Most often it is by means of war that the chief thus rising increases his power, just as it is by the assassination of his rivals that he founded it. He soon succeeds in constituting in the middle of republican tribes a veritable little state that he governs as he pleases. Two roads then present themselves

[648]

to the victorious amghar; he can remain /142/ the champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence and extend further, by an adroit protectorate, his influence over the neighboring republics;

/142 cont./

*634 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him,
 648 through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of
 the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen
 /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Ber-
 bère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen
 /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or
 important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous
 tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved
 in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue
 in the 'Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the
 "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and
 his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to
 direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the
 177 plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the
 independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget
 the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply
 themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the
 cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose
 position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely
 into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this
 spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become
 similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen
 /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of
 the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain
 tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs,
 almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or
 of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators,
 bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay
 the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion
 upon the death of the Sultan.

* [631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicat-
 ing here does not proceed everywhere according to the same reg-
 ular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
* 631 /makhzan/.

* 634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
121 land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
* 631 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
• 648 the Sultan. The undertakings of Abdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawas, will help us to understand the last phase of the transfor-
mation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all
the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of
submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime
of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs,
dominated by kaidas, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered
up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power
is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains
threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until
/145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the inces-
sant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
* 631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely suc-
ceed in following it during the course of the events that have dis-
turbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[518] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with
the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaidas.

* 631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other
chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this
same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if
we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

2: Montagne

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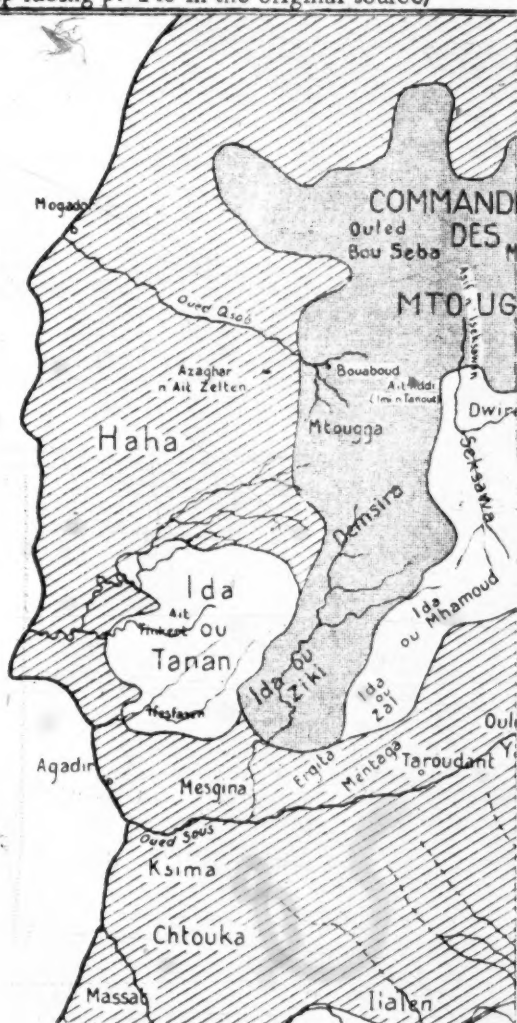
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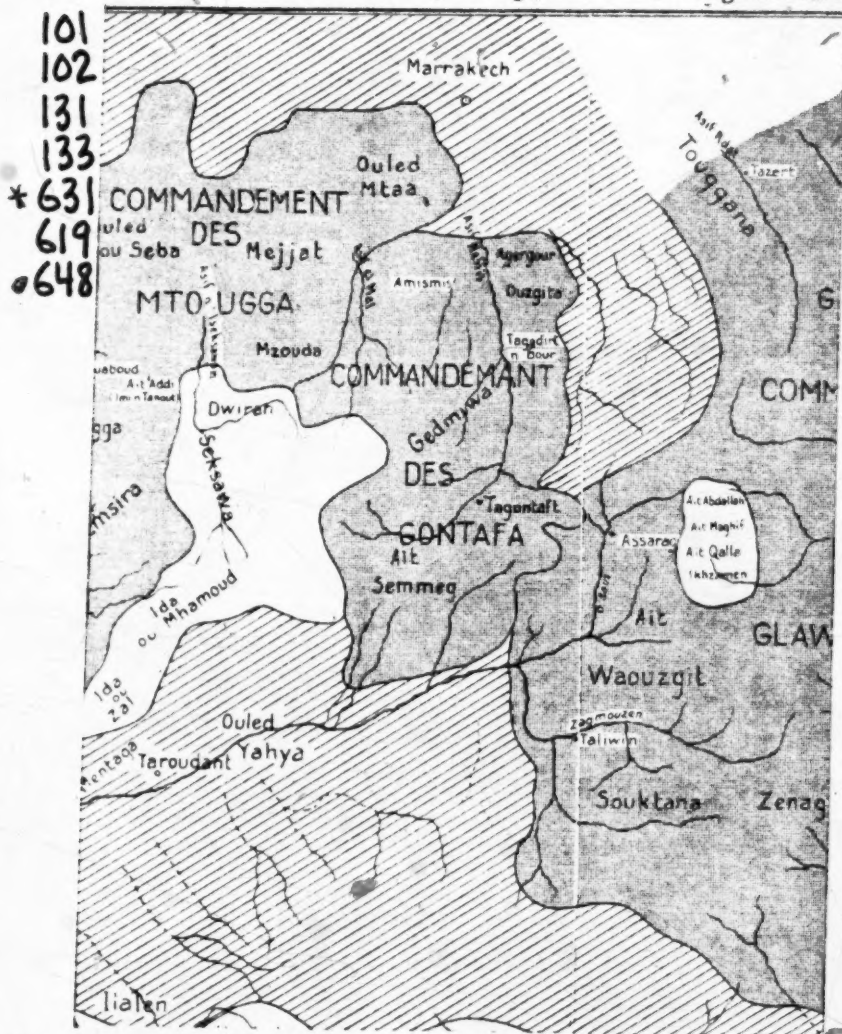
Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

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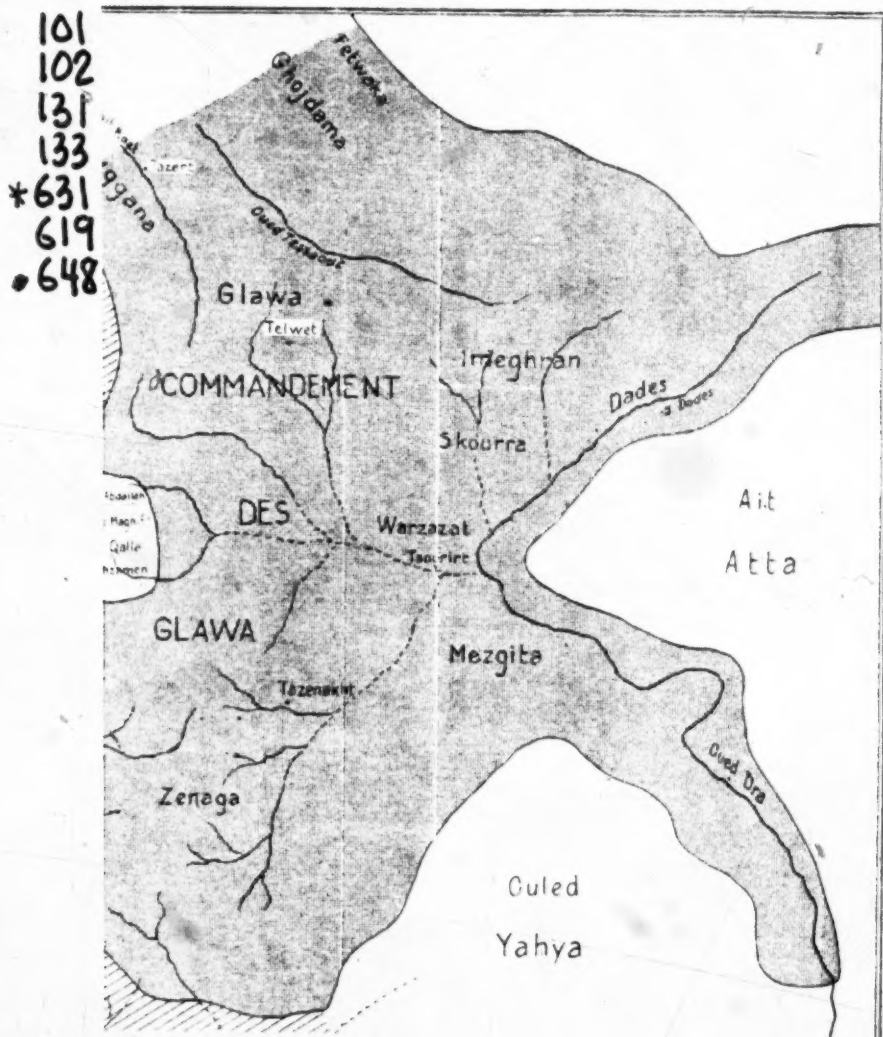
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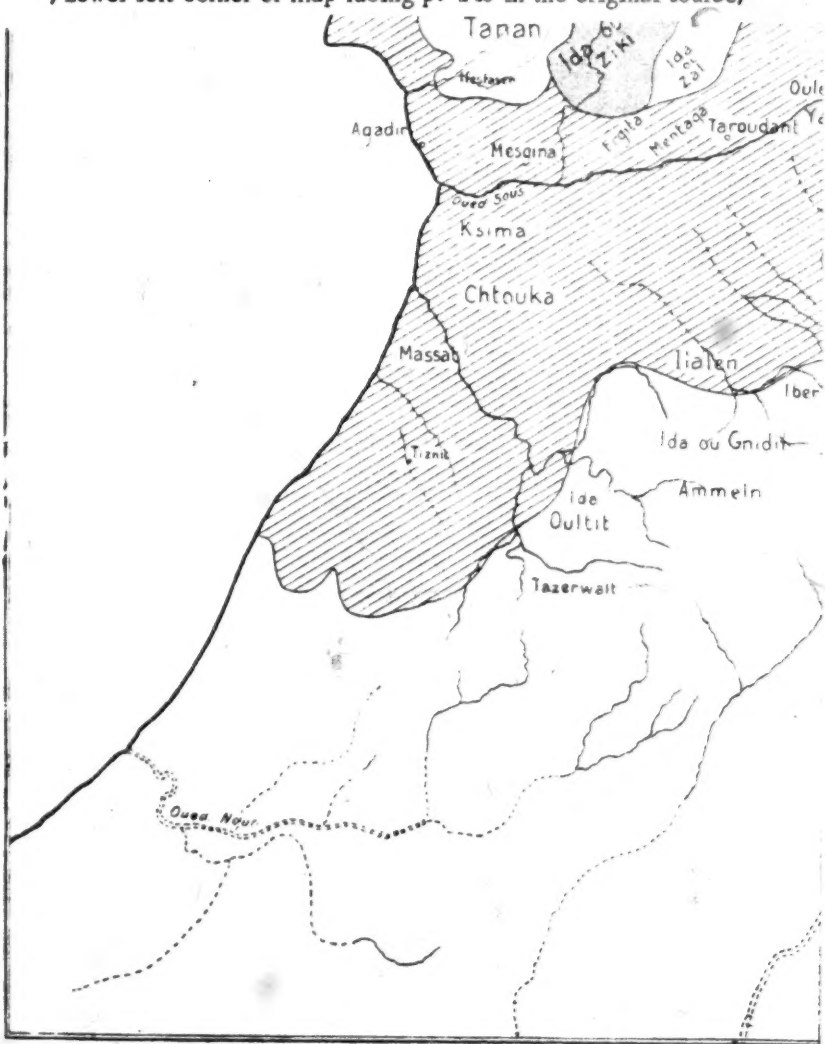


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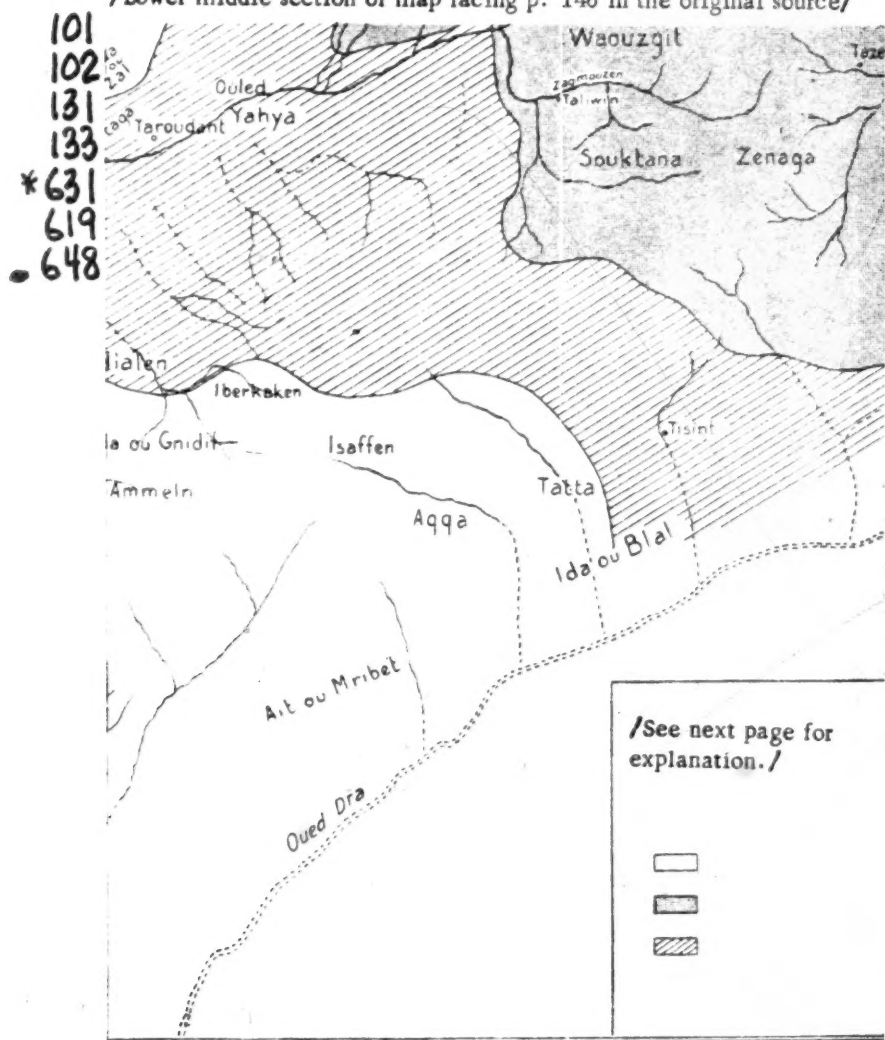


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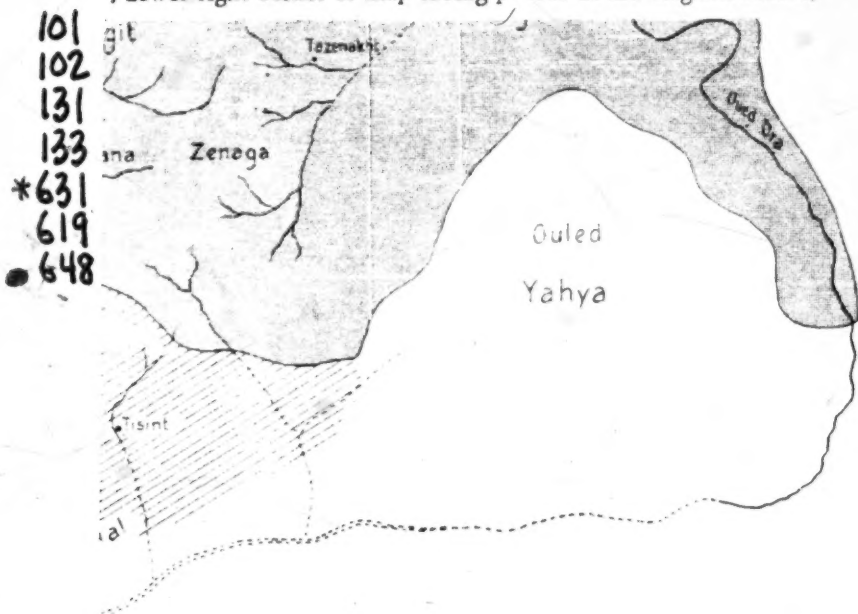
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The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,000,000

-  Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.
-  Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids:
Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi
-  Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen
(Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

*631 /168 cont./

[174] conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175]
[619]

3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
175 which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through
• [648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger
[792] the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas,
[642] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, disciple of Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd
en Na'im, according to the local tradition, was able to give the
Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them
to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains
and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal
rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up
*631 the confederation. They are the Alt Tinkert, the Alt Oufazzoun,
619 the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different
political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think
fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the
[796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives
[692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and
by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

616
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131

/193 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Alt Zollit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Ferwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

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It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma'cho and of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

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[131] /194 cont./
long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposition of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulén. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

[726] The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulén" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616
174 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike
agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge
their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come
to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa
is not one of the least difficulties of the in-
vestigations made in order to learn the dis-
tribution of the two leffs.

* [634] The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices
for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances
concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such
temporary associations are rarely established between fractions
of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
648 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
175 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the
Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great
chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi
Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the
tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff;
and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God,
O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at
the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammein, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Alt Mzal, of the left of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the
reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj,
remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the
great left of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his
alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed tradi-
tional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph
with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison re-
served for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two lefts
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the lefts is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana
or the Alt Mzal, for example, the two lefts represent the tradi-
tion of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time
when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the
desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred
of the two lefts has remained much more passionate in the vicini-
ty of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the
parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mix-
ture of the families belonging to the two lefts and which came
recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the lefts of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa,
and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in
large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetra-
tion suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin
here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of
the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

616 The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
174 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
167 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
648 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Ma'qil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

* 634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

* 634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one.
Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études Islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

* 634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils cannot give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger.
726 So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
* 634
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[431] passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids generally content themselves with claiming the traditional she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.



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628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/259 cont./

343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institu-
tion has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate
the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men
themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of
Jebel Aouljad, that of Ima^cizen (agadir n
Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Alt ^cAli), of
Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tad-
rart (agadir n Alt ou Bela^cid).

(113)
(175)

Let us add that Portuguese nautical instruc-
tions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La
côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^e
siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the
Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hes-
péris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the
coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma,
Turucuco, Tukurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht),
which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or
cantons.

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indica-
178 tions of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
(722) tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of
the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed
fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all
the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during
wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless
numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the
country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/262 cont. /

121 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the insti-
178 tutions that we have described.

178 Until the middle of the last century, the small independent
*634 states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the
171 western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/
of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vig-
orous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2),

2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I. p. 176.

their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of
the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in
our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote
*634 cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even
the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still
know who the Aït Arba^e in were, who at each siba revived the
former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas,"
the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappear-
•[648] ance was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate
and by the economic transformation that has been taking place
for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce.

178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life.
The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when
/263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imisfern" were the
subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered
hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening
on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood.
But the young people, who were raised in recent times with
"sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the
past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin,"
with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival,
an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves
and whose importance only the old ones understand.

/286 cont. /

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
 * 634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
 726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa,
 had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
 • [648] 'Abd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
 [712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of
 the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in
 haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the
 attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly
 enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben 'Ali, had distin-
 guished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his
 "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the
 minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the ham-
 lets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of
 his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case
 of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a
 monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In
 order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his
 ambitious projects, Ou ben 'Ali, in imitation of the chief of
 Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries,
 and his name began to be known at a great distance and his pro-
 tection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
 * 634 el Grawl, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
 648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of
 power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of
 Ou ben 'Ali and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a
 minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of
 that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short
 order, Ou ben 'Ali made the first move; he surprised the makhzen
 /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in
 open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to
 flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the
 "Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's
 prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him
 the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./

175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
 *634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
 -648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at
 Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two
 traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben 'Ali was
 exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor
 chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to
 his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed
 to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the
 blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar 'Ali Ou Hammo of the
 *631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
 *634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the
 double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons
 were governed by councils of Aït arba'in and moqaddems, while
 at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs,
 intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of
 Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers
 comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

(177) But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found
 themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaid or subject
 to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20
 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have
 escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves

175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
 *634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. 'Ali Ou
 Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15
 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913,
 the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer
 in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors,
 by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in in-
 creasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our
 day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him,
 'Ali Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arba'in and the moqaddems.

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaid (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
 619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
 • [648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, the three tribes of the Ida
 ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
 *634 political regimes. The Alt Ou 'Azzoun, directed in our day by
 619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
 178 middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
 have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
 Alt arba'in; finally, the Alt Tinkert fell little by little under the
 domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
 in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
 of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
 effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
 influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
 619 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
 families, then more important personages who form a kind of
 senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
 whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
 *634 bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
 619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
 578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
 [613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
 and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
 one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
 an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
 [554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
 that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/300 cont./

*634 175 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house.
In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously
to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not
really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the
republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful
of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and
especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered
and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will re-
main precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily
booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his
authority, there is no better example to consider than that of
Mohammed n Alt Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows
with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a
Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Alt Iraten" in order to conquer the "Alt Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 367.

• [648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall
see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under
the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands
of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority
Mohammed n Alt Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of
the "Alt Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of
Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the
big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "AIt Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid "Omar Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.

The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "AIt Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinnel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "AIt Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "AIt Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaid stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with "Omar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the AIt Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then "Omar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "AIt Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "AIt Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsi-fern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "AIt Iraten" and "AIt Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid "Omar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
 159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
 * 631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
 * 634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
 616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
 726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

• 648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in
 pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The
 amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Alt Atman,"
 was in flight among the Alt Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was re-
 placed by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he
 likewise named his friend Mohammed n Alt Hasein. Then his
 indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Alt Ouchefar, of the frac-
 tion of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the
 Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Alt Iraten." Thanks to
 these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little
 state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover,
 presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el
 Grawl, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
 grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did
 not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
 159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
 * 634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
 [712] tribe erects by /303/ "toulza," for the new chief, the great for-
 tress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both
 massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of
 the chief who conceived it.

[726] At Tinnel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El
 Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the
 property of the "Alt Atman," whom he drives from their homes
 and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little
 plain of Tinnel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so
 precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult every-
 [343] where, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provi-
 sions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

175 /304 cont./

159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Alt Semmeg and
of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Alt Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Alt Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Alt Atman." When the amghar

[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Alt Zolit,"
the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him.
The refugee then fled to the Alt Oumzal, in the fraction of the
amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the
fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
-648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
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The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan,
Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had
just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mo-
hammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou
Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the
Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was find-
ing the presents sent to him insufficient. "Ali Ben Lhasen of
Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for
obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly
had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed
wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been
in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marra-
kech tremble again. This time important contingents were
assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, "Abdallah Tamachot,
who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis,
accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the
Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the
Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

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175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinnel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
•648 Si el Madani Glawi.
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[727] Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat
n Yaquoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he
had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied con-
tingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinnel basin when,
from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there
was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the
Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What
exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already
famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an
ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being
a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was
doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the
amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Tel-
wet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of
the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by
ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat
at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and
brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
camped in the plain of Tinnel. At the same time, 75 men shut
up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled
and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt
Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their
throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the
captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back
after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
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[127] they were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it, he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without combat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

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*631 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sultan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic cleverness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid 'Abderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou 'Ali el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzen/ (1).

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1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des kaïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaïds of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/312 cont./

their wishes to him" (1).

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Mouldid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

We have said that Ahmed Ou Mouldid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aft el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last

example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

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*634 [133] communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
(1). if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys"

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
- [648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
* [631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in
the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

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*634 [159] However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Agif el
Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay Abderrah-
man, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated
the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of
the Aït Qaïd 'Ali, who had, it is said, now in the service of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the
mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's
authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by
the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, more-
over, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were
the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal,
Annermi.

[712] By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[616] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for
him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa war-
riors.

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*634 [726] Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid 'Omar Touz-
zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
* [631] at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
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159 /313 cont./
 175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
 *634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
 726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
 *631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
 [727] Tanger /Tangier/. 'Omar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then
 assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mej-
 jat and of the Ouled Ben Seba^c, then arrived at Adasil and /314/
 repulsed the Ait Gafr and the whole leff of the mountain
 "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
 159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
 *634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
 697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
 • [648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
 summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
 [776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
 providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali,"
 in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back
 to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden
 under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar
 took refuge with the kaid El Molzz of the Mejjat. In spite of the
 searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
 [778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla 'Aziza,
 [782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf,"
 which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house
 of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since 'Omar Touz-
 159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
 *634 port Emir 'Abd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
 726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
 616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
 [648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
 After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and de-
 clared they were quits. Si 'Omar even married the sister of the
 amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his for-
 tress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

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175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
* 634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him.
Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert
tried to regain their independence with the support of the
Iworsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
* 634 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
* 634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his
heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not
suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
* 634 Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
616 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
726 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
[648] ever, united to drive him away. - The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore
him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsi-
fern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they
pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off
the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As
long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in
the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support
of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way suc-
ceeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose
all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon
to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

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*631 V. The minor chiefs of the Ait Waouzgit. -- The study of
*634 the politics of the chiefs of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not
616 as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of
this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their
lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars es-
tablished around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small com-
mands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will
suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the
position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with
that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan,
*631 semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters
of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of
the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
one should understand the whole steppe that
extends between the south versant of the Atlas
and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But,
within the country, the term of Feija designates
only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command.

*634 It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, domi-
[616] nated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown
[648] into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him,
in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids partici-
pated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals
the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of
the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of
Dernat.

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When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar 'Abd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Houssein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

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After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa undertook the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very moment another chief, the amghar 'Ali of Tamdakht, was in his turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

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The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

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There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised the command of the Aït Tadrat before the conquest of the Glawa, relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination. The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

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*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
 *634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgît to
 175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
 616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
 [178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that in-
 terested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate de-
 voted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the
 decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus per-
 mitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the
 opposing interests."

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
 *634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
 593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
 605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
 182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
 616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
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1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these ex-
 amples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the
 country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the
 amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion
 of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces in-
 dependent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The
 resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
 * [63] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
 • [648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

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648 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Ait Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Ait /318/ Semmeg, who went in to the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjoit, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

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616 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Ait Qaid 'Ali, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaid by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Ait Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

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616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their left of origin.

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554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

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342 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison
712 and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the
178 victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or left enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

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178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

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152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high

• (648) rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

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* [631] circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does
not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance,
he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
the Sultân. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi
cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaid
without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the
forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his
power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Ber-
ber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional
alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the
enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from cur-
rent rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have
seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than
fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little,
thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton
alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disap-
pears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

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The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful
chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into
the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of
the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of com-
plete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

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great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is, moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away into paradise.

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Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

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2. Relation of Sidi Brahîm de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahîm of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

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Natural arbitrators of the sofs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

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Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive. It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one

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of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

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If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost, one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

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It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

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Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

- I. The first kaïd of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaïds of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaïds of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaïds during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaïd, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaïds' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzglt). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

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In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaïds of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

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121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.

128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
175 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
*631 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs. Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.

175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment; they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

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I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We have studied at length the first stages of the formation and development of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

• [648] /328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

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There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom, which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar" of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Ait Atman," who harbored toward the "Ait Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

The favor of the

175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
 * 631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
 * 634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
 159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
 • [648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader,
 charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of
 the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who
 was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became
 his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leader-
 ship of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time
 of the big harka of Tagontast in 1875, and we have seen that he
 facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefts instead of attack-
 ing his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south
 versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless al-
 ways limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their
 influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son
 of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the com-
 mand of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing
 through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from
 the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be
 respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the cas-
 bahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
 159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
 * 631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
 * 634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
 616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
 578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
 [648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontast and Tinnel. Ac-
 tually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the
 struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated
 by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active
 are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of
 the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /331 cont./

159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
 *631 Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
 *634 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
 [712] establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
 eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
 'Ali. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
 attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned to-
 ward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.

159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
 *631 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
 *634 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
 *648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
 726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
 ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
 and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
 [713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
 taxes in the Felja and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
 had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
 precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
 and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
 has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
 against the cantons of the enemy left in the nearby valley of the
 Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
 "siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
 kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
 *631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
 578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
 stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
 their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha.

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175 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the
 *631 Haha. After the death of El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el
 726 Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of
 them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to
 regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to
 have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and
 to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of
 agreeing with one another (1878).

175 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj 'Omar
 *631 Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as
 648 well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous
 kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the
 abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so in-
 tolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard,
 and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by
 the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 About 1890, young 'Abd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the
 *631 kaid Mesaoud, brother of El Hajj 'Omar. As soon as he took
 command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of
 the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neigh-
 bor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the
 Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his ad-
 vantage. By cunning provocations 'Abd el Malek caused a revolt
 to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed,
 son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el
 Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in
 possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any
 powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for
 them.

175 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of
 *631 the young kaids of the Atlas, Si 'Abd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi,
 648 Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in
 the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of
 the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes.
 But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine
 the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

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anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaid and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1):

1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaid increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Eckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young 'Abd el 'Aziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaid, the amghars, and the independent republics.

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In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaid of the Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

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 *631 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great
 kaid.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
 *631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
 713 /335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
 •648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
 439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs
 understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to
 draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns
 of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we
 see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the
 passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and
 modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at
 Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad,
 "Martini" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands
 of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Mo-
 rocco is all the easier because the European powers are then com-
 peting to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and
 because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importa-
 tion of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of
 the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband
 enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn
 chassepots, lebel /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the
 kaid of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat,
 thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to
 break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a
 few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
 *631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
 *634 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
 726 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
 648 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around
 the amghar 'Ali n Aft Haddo of the Aft Zineb, whose father,

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Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar 'Ali grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is besieged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar 'Ali goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought [113] to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar 'Ali, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

[669] Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaid, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

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The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa, Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, 'Abd el Malek Mtrougi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaid during the anarchy of the Empire

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(1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaid of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehabla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère /Berber/ kaid felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

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Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue. But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtrougi and the Gontafi, and each favors several ainghars in the hope of getting

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175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
 *631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
 578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
 175 the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
 *631 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
 726 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, 'Abd
 el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
 minor kaids into their protection.

175 Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
 lay 'Abd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
 *631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check 'Abd el
 726 'Aziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
 •648 obstinate, remains a partisan of 'Abd el 'Aziz; 'Abd el Malek
 Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side
 to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he
 in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his
 enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless
 loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of 'Abd el
 'Aziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid ci Ayadi,
 chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El
 Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Mar-
 rakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay 'Abd el
 Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the
 "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay 'Abd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
 *631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
 648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
 lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
 amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his ele-
 vated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marra-
 kech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all
 the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz.
 His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs
 and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldun /ibn-
 Khaldun/.

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726 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter 'Abd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

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726 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani, followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay 'Abd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute 'Abd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only 'Abd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

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648 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/ the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

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The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c, Oulad Yala, Arousyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa, Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal, Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

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1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of 'Abd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

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175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
 *631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
 •648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
 619 the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remain-
 ing at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/
 formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran,
 Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat,
 the Mesgita, Aft Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouz-
 git.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domina-
 tion that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the
 Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marra-
 kèch. They learn the art of living there as great lords and wel-
 come with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their
 power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same
 time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our
 country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
 *631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaid
 burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been en-
 closed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of
 the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly estab-
 lished regime, which has sometimes been given the name of
 "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations
 a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization
 it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of
 the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of
 all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the
 kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
 *631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
 712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of
 all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the
 warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

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 * 631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
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1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

* 631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
 * 634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
 602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
 613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It
 is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the
 beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of
 the little state that he has created. He has found among them
 first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis,
 charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
 to find among these earliest companions a cadì who will be able
 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
 This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
 tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Ber-
 bère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-
 ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the
 disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible
 justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circum-
 stances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
 without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself,
 seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the
 petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate
 and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close
 advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides
 with the command of his personal guard.

* 631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
 712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
 * 634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
 574 numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay
 sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

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* 631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
(574) A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1).

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

* 631 At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
* 634 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
571 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
[778] the kaïd's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaïd's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

* 631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
* 634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaïds and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

* 631 IX. The financial resources. The kaïd, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
 *652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
 •648 the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
 [701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great
 chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new
 resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on

[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
 [728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when
 [567] villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
 of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The
 retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the
 importance of the domains and of the command increases, the
 intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the har-
 vests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief re-
 ceives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
 [66] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes
 in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already com-
 mands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
 [651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
 [681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in
 bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
 [571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
 [557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating
 with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of
 the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by
 every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the
 kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of
 the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
 *631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
 616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
 652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
 178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
 557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

* 631 /356 cont./

* 634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaid in the political transfor-
175 mation of the tribes.
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The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aft Arba'in, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaid is seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest becomes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaid who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in installing in their "taqbilt" (1).

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1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aft Galr, Abderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aft Ja'far, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonseken of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aft Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aft Tiksit, of the "Imisfern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/357 cont./

178 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from
616 the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends.
Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern"
and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of
the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are
therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj 'Abdallah
Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last
century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontafi in the alliance of
the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the
Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the
Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost,
even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for
power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Ait
Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their
own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

* [578] Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the
* [634] former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rival-
* [631] ries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
• [648] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking
into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old insti-
tution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself,
while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

* 631 XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
* 634 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by
this study, any original feature that might have permitted dif-
ferentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority
of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the At-
las really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become
* 631 absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who
178 preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the
venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but
their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate
or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

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178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

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171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaid with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

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• [648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "Imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

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*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaid; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berberes /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

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648 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaid of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaid were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

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Chapter IV

Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

- I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba," -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

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178 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

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121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in
the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory
in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region
of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
•648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha
of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaid,
changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have be-
come masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they
have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the
harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make
the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality
with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous com-
munities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we
shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the
former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date
court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the
skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better
for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended
up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed
the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld,
Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the
old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to
try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of
the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South
of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition
of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and of the in-
terior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central
government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates
by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

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In the history of the South the most important Arab groups who intervened in the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ are the Oulad Mor'a under the Saadians, dispersed, however, by Ahmed el Mansour, at present neighbors of the Gedmiwa; the Menabha, settled both to the west of Marrakech and to the east of Taroudant; the Chebbanat, instruments of the fall of the last of the Saadians and deported in various directions; finally the Chararda, made up of various elements, Zirara, Chebbanat, Oulad Dlim, Tekna, Ida ou Blal, whose last uprisings near Marrakech disturbed the reigns of Moulay Slïman and Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 86.

These "gich" tribes, forming a kind of military colony distributed around Marrakech, were exempt from the tax and owned their lands by permanent or precarious title. Moreover, they received monthly subsidies, but in all circumstances had to furnish contingents raised by a simple notice from the sultan's representative, who was settled in the casbah of the capital of the South with the title of pasha. Organized into "thousands," "hundreds," or smaller fractions, commanded by military kaid, they took part in all the expeditions necessitated by the re-establishment of order and the recovering of taxes. These Arabs' ties of alliance with their Ma'qil brothers of the Sahara were not without importance for governing the country. Besides, since the sultans repeatedly chose wives among these Arab tribes, their descendants could in numerous circumstances find useful support among their uncles of the desert. The sultan Moulay /371/ 'Abdallah, driven from power several times by rebelling blacks, proved the benefit of this alliance, consistent with the most ancient principles of the Semitic tradition (1).

1. Georges Marçais, Arabes en Berbérie /Arabs in Barbary/, p. 706.

* 631 In the same way, the chiefs of the Atlas, among the Haha and the
• 648 Mtougga, could sometimes, thanks to family unions, call on the

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• 648 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated in-
to the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring
the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère
tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the rôle played by the Arab
kaid of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing
the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until
the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf
of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and
carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas
and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book
III, Ch. III.

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619 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more
obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we
have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the
Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in
their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that
these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-
Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and
they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their
government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas
scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to
call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the
same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the be-
ginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domina-
tion of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saïd Ou 'Abd en Naïm,
but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in
Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the
Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth
century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

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648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
619 (3).

3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Ait Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "abid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

1. "Istiqsa." Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

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000 Local resistance was overcome either by the effective occupation of villages, pillage, destruction of houses, search for silos, and the /374/ capture of flocks, or by exciting the zeal of the nearby tribes, enemies of the refractory groups and who were thus interested in the profitable collection of the taxes. In all circumstances, the taking of hostages facilitated the definitive settlement of disputes, and the passage of the "mehalla" to a neighboring tribe was obtained after submission and mutual concessions over the sums claimed and offered.

In the subjugated tribes we find settled in the vicinity of the houses of chiefs small groups of Jews who in an indirect manner contribute toward facilitating the action of the Makhzen /makhan/. Mixed up in the recovering of the taxes, because they are always ready to advance, sometimes with the money of the kaid himself, the sums claimed from the peasants in the sultan's name, these Jews have played a role, obscure but sometimes important, in the internal life of the tribes. Grouped especially at the foot of the Atlas, at the point where at the same time political action is exercised and where economic transactions multiply, they are often the index of the recent penetration of the Makhzen (1).

1. Other Jews' quarters exist, sometimes in the high mountains in the Atlas (Tifnout, Glawa), but especially in the Anti-Atlas. It may be that there we find ourselves in the presence of the degenerate remains of ancient Judaized Berbère /Berber/ populations. Local traditions often show that these groups were much more numerous in the past and that conversions to Islam obtained by main strength made them disappear.

• 648 IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- It is easy to find in the detailed account of the action of the Makhzen /makhan/ in the South of Morocco in the course of the last century the

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•648 application of general principles of the policy with regard to the tribes, which have not ceased to be respected since the time of the Saadians.

The first of these practical rules is mistrust with regard to the Berbères /Berbers/ who inhabit the inaccessible districts: "Be-ware especially," said Ahmed el Mansour to his son, "of enrolling among the fusiliers the mountain people, who think only of eating well and getting rich; one should not take any at all, for, understand it well, by acting thus it is as if you wanted them not to pay you any more taxes, either now or later" (2).

2. Nezoht el Hadî, Houdas trans., p. 288.

Mohammed Echcheikh el Asghar also had this word sent to Mohammed Ben Echcherif at Sidjilmassa: "Never attack the Berbères /Berbers/ in their mountains; wait until you find an easier way to reach them" (3).

3. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

/375/ There remain then for subjugating the tribes the combatants raised in the plains of the Sous, the Dra, or the Azaghar of Marrakech. Most are Arabs whose loyalty is doubtful, and it is necessary, when they are false, to penetrate into their territory "with troops who loot everything and kill mercilessly"; but in spite of their inconstancy they still form the solidest rampart of the dynasty. "Bind to you," said a ruler, "the heart of the Arabs, know what they are capable of, and then you will know confidently what you can expect from each tribe" (1).

1. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

The two poles of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous are the casbah of Marrakech and that of Taroudant. This latter town, however, too often threatened by uprisings and far out of the way from the middle of Berbère /Berber/ country,

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• 648 cannot be a point of support adequate for facilitating important undertakings. It appears as an active center only at long intervals, in periods of calm, and its importance is second by far to the capital of the Haouz. It is therefore above all in the activity of the pashas of the casbah of Marrakech, exercised over the tribes of the north of the Atlas, that it is possible to find the best examples of the politics of the Makhzen.

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* 631 Keeping the country in relative order, maintaining the tribes and their chiefs in a state of weakness, so that the collection of the tax may be as easy as possible, such is the essential pre-occupation of these governors. They carefully watch the kaids named by the sultan in the tribes of the Dîr, maintain their divisions, and set them against one another so that they cannot dangerously enlarge their command. They see to it that their casbahs are constructed in places easy to reach and fear letting sheiks too far away in the interior of the great chain take power (2).

2. Cf. above, Book III, Ch. II, p. 415.

If they sometimes act contrary to this rule, as Brahim el Grawi did with respect to the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, it is in order, it seems, to chop up commands that appear too large to them. In the reign of Sidi Mohammed, the Gedmiwa of the Dîr are subject to three minor kaids. Upon the death of the great kaid of the Haha, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, the confederation is immediately split up into three parts, and /376/ later Moulay el Hasan established there five chiefs closely watched by "oumana" (1).

1. Moulay el Hasan feared the development of the kaids' power in the tribes, after the example given by El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi.

"All the Sultan's efforts," says Erckmann, "lead toward substituting in the Berbère /Berber/ tribes the authority of the kaid for that of the jema'a, and in the Arab tribes toward replacing natural groupings by artificial groupings, in such

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/footnote 1 continued/ a way as to increase the yield of the taxes and to triumph more easily over local resistances. For this purpose he substituted for the 18 major commands that formerly existed (for the whole Empire) a considerable number of small groups -- about 330 -- at the head of each of which is found a kaid. The new kaid is inconsequential personages who cannot dream of resisting the orders that they receive; the cohesion of the tribes is destroyed, and the taxes come in more easily. But unfortunately it happens that the country thus oppressed by a crowd of kaid and their confederates is marching toward certain ruin. "Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122.

Finally, since in all circumstances the fiction of the Makhzen /makhzan/ must be safeguarded up to within the unsubdued high mountains, the title of kaid is even given to notables without true authority, who accept the risk of protecting the cause of the Makhzen by their own means in the high valleys. Such in the reign of Moulay el Hasan were Mohammed ou Mansour of the Seksawa, named among the Aït Haddiyous, and the ephemeral Bou L'achrat among the Ida Ou Tanan (2).

2. Cf. above.

Sherifian policy moreover knows how to utilize local circumstances admirably, and when commands are too split up, it progressively unites them. Then we see the sultan's representatives act with admirable patience: first of all, the authority of the most reliable amghars is confirmed, generally by giving them the title of kaid, then they are set against one another, while later losing no opportunity to get rid of the defeated ones and to

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organize a single command (3).

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3. Cf. "La Tribu de Massat /The Massat Tribe/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 392. With respect to the marabouts themselves, the sultan knows how to give proof of great cleverness and to utilize all their moral influence to strengthen his operations in the tribes. Moulay el Hasan's relations with the sherif of the Tazerwalt in the course of the second Sous expedition can be given as one of the best examples of the flexibility of a political operation entirely crowned with success. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Géranton, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, p. 192.

Often, in the regions controlled best by the Sultan, the kaids' authority is limited by that of the "oumana," for although the tribal chiefs merit the name of "honest servants" in sherifian literature, the sultans have never hesitated to set down very freely the thefts and exactions that most of them committed (4).

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4. On the occasion of a famine, loans of money had been granted to the populations by Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben 'Abdallah. Writing afterward to his people that he was giving up recovering his advances, this sovereign said, "I have not given you this money with the intention of reclaiming it from you. I have told you that it was a loan solely in order that it would not be secured by your sheiks and your notables for themselves, which they would have done if they had known that it was a gift on my part." "Istiqa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 333.

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651 /377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaid. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj 'Abdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the 'Achour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaid. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

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* 631 V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda" or of "jema'a," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Ait Wasif, including the villages of the banks

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighrls with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aft Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

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/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I. Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdown" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Ait Arba'in in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jema'a" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

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modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/, " Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, reus. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jema'a" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

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Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berberé /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions, under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by left alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

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The example of the career of El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, a great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa, will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

'Abdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

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/380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French fleet and cursed by Moulay 'Abd er Rahman. At this period in the country of the Haha one no longer finds stable lefts constituted by traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

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159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
 *63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
 •648 the kaid of the Mtongga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
 219 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking 'Abdallah Ou
 [178] Bihi.
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The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

[712] In ten years 'Abdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Ait Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his [342] house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by [343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1).

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

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175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, 'Abdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
•648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, con-
tained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted store-
houses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, in-
tended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of 'Abadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the ma-
terial aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great
chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other
Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we
have studied. 'Abdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands
of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is
the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him
to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the
Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the de-
feated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields taken over by
[65] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton. It
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circum-
stance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

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175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Ait Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a repu-
701 tation only for living well and eating well.

175 Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
159 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
*631 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the com-
619 mand; the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
712 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gour. No caliphates in the
territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge
of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each
khorns proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep
power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death
of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the
country numerous minor kaid.

175 The domination of El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power;
besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the
attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative
missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sul-
tan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj
'Abdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole
country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the ex-
travagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years
of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show
us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by
the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to
sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know im-
mediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to
the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by
Aghennaj.

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431 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy: the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Moussa sent to the sultan each year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

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*631 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
571 'Abdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
574 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
431 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "An Arba" in of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

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*631 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
[203] Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
[431] sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj 'Abdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadî who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

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*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
 • 648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings
 only an accumulation of misery and the development of intoler-
 able abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
 648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
 829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
 619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
 661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the con-
 fusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on
 the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman,
 and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and be-
 lieved to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to op-
 pose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth
 become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his
 brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is
 the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide
 anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling
 them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse them-
 selves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
 made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
 * 634 of the kaid and amghars are those who are attached to them by
 602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
 661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity
 contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The
 former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of
 enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
 661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
 602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the
 master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the
 territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

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The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaid's power by that of the jema'a or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination.

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Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

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Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbere /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

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• 648 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded
619 as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the
669 tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to
take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years,
the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which
they are henceforth bound forever.

[175] The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Abdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the
648 Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously
669 occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

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175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
 • 648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
 669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
 * 631 would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
 by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

175 Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
 648 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
 669 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
 * 631 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka
 with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double
 stages, sought refuge with Si 'Aisa ben 'Omar, the powerful kaid
 of the 'Abda, and from there reached their country in secret.
 Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi,
 succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the
 other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most
 venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands
 taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the dif-
 ficulties of the sultan Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, at grips with Bou
 Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements
 of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the
 loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in
 re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long
 months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
 669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
 * 631 notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
 * 634 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transfor-
 mation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its
 "siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of
 the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has
 governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little
 Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the
 slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as former-
 ly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

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178 of Ait Arba^ein and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir in the plains it
* 631 is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
* 634 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without
restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific
fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away,
and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to
obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended.
It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his
tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is
raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but
only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-
bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed,
to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive
out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the
whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Ber-
bère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle
in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

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1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique
du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of
the Moroccan South/, " Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

* 631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-estab-
* 634 lishing in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
• 648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
669 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
198 as the struggles of sofs, the combats of cantons that unite again
[616] to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are re-
peated. Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaid re-
appear in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the
banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little
people lose confidence in the tribe; the Ait Arba^ein are abandoned
and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too
much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

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* 634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
• 648 too burdensome a yoke.

669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the
vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is
prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and
makhzanis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken
his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the
forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their ter-
ritory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee
into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is pro-
longed, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj 'Abdallah
Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït 'Aisi, and the chiefs
of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in
ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
* 631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sul-
tân, the most important transformations that took place in the
life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the
growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the
slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

* [634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed to-
ward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly sepa-
rated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient
effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile
groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made
ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single
chief received from the sultan the right to command. This en-
largement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and re-
volts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings
that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to
be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might
succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

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The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, engaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaid. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

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[177] But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions the definitive ruin of the "orf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chra" /shar, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehanía" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chra /shar/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "orf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

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and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At the same time the part of the "chra" /shar/ grows unceasingly; it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "iquh" of the tribes, the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arba'in, falls into the hands of the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifiân Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaid's whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

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* 631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaid is the slave
 • 648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaid.
 177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
 178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
 * 634 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
 claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal
 power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to
 join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
 [616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
 [619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it
 is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid;
 the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in
 the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional prin-
 ciples of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into
 the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one
 must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under
 the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come
 to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of
 the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in
 order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
 their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
 [642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
 [185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire,
 without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that
 condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results
 obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of
 fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these
 people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without
 hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other
 than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page
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121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
 171 Ma'cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
 * 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
 * 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
 [178] a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
 complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
 the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
 tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
 under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
 and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
 depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
 by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
 - [648] ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
 power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
 lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
 similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère
 /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with
 the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canon
 amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons
 between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during
 this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority
 of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to
 us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost un-
 known, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North
 Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
 128 under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
 * 631 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
 whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
 shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
 of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
 causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
 political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
 of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
 turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

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 *634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
 619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
 *631 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
 726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to
 subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
 *631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaid. Doubt-
 *634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
 •648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
 182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the
 vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy
 come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of
 the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his
 ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried
 along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/;
 his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain
 traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sul-
 tan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to
 them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more
 profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the
 role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan,
 from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains,
 promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions
 where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the
 growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a
 tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies
 forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The
 great kaid himself imitates the ruler, and little by little, in
 proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the
 powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions
 become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to
 the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy
 breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and
 their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up
 with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Ar Arba'in" re-
 sume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

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- In periods favorable to the development of the power of the chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the independent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional government of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profoundly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
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- [648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

[648] Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

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- In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makhzen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

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105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
 *631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
 *634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
 182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
 • 648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the
 high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides
 turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offer-
 ing to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most re-
 mote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this
 way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by
 the old 'Abd el Malek M'uggi, who liked to defend with affec-
 tion the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions,
 which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/
 complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the con-
 stant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the moun-
 tain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
 *631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
 175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
 554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time
 of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see 'Amer Hin-
 tati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides
 in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the
 road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed
 the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean Mosques of
 the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata
 became at the same time the veritable king of the South and col-
 lected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
 (648) the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first
 days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security
 of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were
 jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or
 to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their
 conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose
 good lands they were confiscating.

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One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power Amer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

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Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaidi of our time suffice to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

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/400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of the most constant laws of the history of Berberie /Barbary/ and to understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

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This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther, which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said, within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of immense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

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appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies, the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

/407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --

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We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

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In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we must tell how the presence of these flefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

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792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
 795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
 *631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
 648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw
 back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded
 by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the
 montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
 795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
 *631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soifs
 554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
 [798] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
 [788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with
 green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great
 annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the
 merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
 792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
 795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
 *631 Sidi 'Ali bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas,
 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family
 tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive
 this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into
 a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief
to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
 795 by the rapid conquest of 'Abd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
 *631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
 171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel
 'Alam; the sherif 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants
 were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally
 the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal
 leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

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 795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
 * 631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaid the
 182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
 795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
 * 631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
 648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

(178) When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

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792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
 795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
 *631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
 648 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
 171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries be-
 tween the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
 same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
 Hasan of Timgilicht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
 792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
 795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
 *631 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
 648 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less ser-
 vile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
 lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
 of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
 792 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
 795 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
 *631 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
 648 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
 from the Ait Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in
 the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
 importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
 kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
 desert, at Timgilicht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden
 among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
 the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
 have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary popu-
 lations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peace-
 ful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
 792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
 795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
 *631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

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it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*631 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
792 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
178 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and
the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family
quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the
country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the
tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the
course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made
exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last gen-
erations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the
conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the
chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two
irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's
measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the
religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate
the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.

*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
• 648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of
the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first
years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the
mountains and the kaid of the plains for 15 years proceeded with
the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new ac-
tivity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive
as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into
the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous,
mountain states.

[669] The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère
[578] /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
kaid, struggles of sofs and lefs are indeed stopped or limited;

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*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
 • 648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
 17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
 [578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
 [669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of
 the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of
 primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are
 inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to
 stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compli-
 ance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared
 first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to
 defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the
 senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
 [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
 [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and
 abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new
 leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
 [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
 [712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
 [652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
 [466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
 [653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops
 are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
 [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
 [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the At-
 las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants,
 the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive
 exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security
 of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established
 without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on
 the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one
 sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

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of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations, or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty, calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

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It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty, while the more disturbed government of the independent republics alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions of their villages. In the servitude into which they have fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.

(669)

The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation: consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal government of ancient times.

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VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

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648 laws -- above all, our habits of mind thus led us to establish complete identity between the far Maghreb and the Empire. In truth, this confusion was justified to a certain degree only for the region of the towns and plains, in the whole extent of the "bled el Makhzen"; consequently, as long as our efforts were exerted within the former boundaries in which the tribes had entirely forgotten their past institutions and had even yielded to the practices of the Mussulman monarchy, no doubt arose as to the value of our fiction. Even more, its accuracy could seem proven when a leader of genius had understood that by acquiring the political heritage of sherifian prestige, based on memories of the last military expeditions of the Sultans in the Sous and the Tafilelt, it would be easier to defeat the pretenders and the leaders of holy war, springing up from all sides on the frontiers of the subject country; it was permissible to believe for a time that the successes obtained with so much cleverness and effort justified the intentions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to set up a State without internal frontiers, in the bosom of which all the subjects were to live without local institutions, guided by the single law of Islam, under the authority of absolute chiefs, according to the example of the monarchies of the East.

/415/ Certainly it had not escaped the Résident Général of France in Morocco from our first contact with the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ that the Berbère pastoralists of central Morocco had customs different from those of the Arabs of the plains; in 1914, laws fortunately sanctioned the institutions and the law of these tribes; soon in these regions one even saw the kaids that we had imposed accept the judicial authority of the councils of notables, thus indicating the humble situation of the Makhzen in a country where the assemblies of family heads had remained all-powerful. Everywhere, even in the parts of the country where in the course of the conquest we met powerful temporal leaders -- like those of the Zayan -- the abuses of the sherifian government had up to then remained unknown; respect for the Berbère /Berber/ traditions was asserting itself with undeniable vitality.

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But also at the same time the Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ and Zénètes of central Morocco, who had stayed outside the Empire up to this time, were not ceasing to offer furious resistance to our advance; the harsh conquest of the Beni Warain in 1923, that of the Aït Seghrouchen and of the Marmoucha in 1926 were showing the obstinate will of the independent communities to defend their liberty; at the time that we are terminating this study, the large confederations of the Aït Sokhman, of the Aït Seri, Aït Yahya, Aït Yafelman, and Aït Moghrad, settled on the two versants of the Atlas, are assembling their forces, multiplying their attacks in the subject plains, and putting the confines of the "bled el Makhzen" in peril one last time; thus they are indicating their will to remain as long as possible outside the Empire, whose life moreover they are disturbing profoundly.

Among the sedentary peoples of the south of Morocco, with whose life we have tried to become acquainted, events that have taken place for five years, while we were proceeding with our investigations in the tribes, show plainly how much the nature of the institutions differs from those that the presence of the great kaid's left us to imagine at the beginning; they enable us to understand the profound tendencies of this region whose existence had been changed by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and which was shutting itself up in a bleak passivity crossed by revolts.

• Successively, the disappearance of the small states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi, the constant weakening of the prestige of the Glawa /416/ at the confines of the Sahara, the effort of the Berbères /Berbers/ remaining free at the limit of the commands to treat with France without intermediaries indeed made manifest the fragility of a political edifice whose feudal aspect had already been imprudently outlined by writers fond of exoticism. At the same time, the submission of the last dissident tribes of the western Atlas, in the region of the Tichka and of the Ida Ou Tanan, which we have so often studied in order to understand the nature of the traditional institutions of the Sous, gave us new proof of the effort of the montagnards to escape the grasp of the great chiefs whose domination they feared with good reason.

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[178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by 'Abd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

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*634 Berbère /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

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000 their enemies; everywhere they reconstitute this tribe and this canton within which is shut up all their life and their ideal.

The nostalgic song with which they then, at a distance, like to lull the sadness of their exile brings to us, as far as the cities of the North, the secret of their strength and weakness; in that phrase indefinitely repeated, which is the echo of the Berbère /Berber/ choruses in the mountains, their soul is exposed; it evokes the harsh life of the Atlas, which the poets know how to adorn with a smile, the charm of freedom, the simplicity of a narrow existence, imprisoned by immutable traditions, which stubbornly impose on men the same acts in the same places.

Having no fatherland other than their group of villages, no laws other /419/ than their customs, the Berbères /Berbers/ remain insensitive to the pride of belonging to the Empire. With respect to that Makhzen, whose authority formerly brought them only ruin, they bear witness only to a conventional fidelity inspired by fear; it is from France that they await in silence, with a patience already uneasy at times, recognition of their simple aspirations of justice and a better life.

Perhaps it is not foolhardy to hope that a day will come when the mountain tribes, whose territory outlines large natural regions on the border of the former "bled el Makhzen," will be able, thanks to our support, to free themselves to a certain extent from the too-narrow bonds in which the sherifian tradition today encloses them. In those provinces far away from the towns, for which the history of the country suffices to trace the boundaries quite accurately, the Berbères /Berbers/ will become aware with more force, under an administrative regime adapted to their existence, of the very durable bonds that connect them to their soil.

Such a reform would answer the wish of the populations who manifest, by muffled appeals, their desire to escape the economic

343 /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to
 712 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the
 [114] Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/. Brives pointed out
 the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys
 by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels
 in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and
 which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of
 grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the
 country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region
 neighboring the summits.

114 After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was
 121 possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize
 343 the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. With-
 712 out trying to make here a complete study of this institution of
 • [648] collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a
 time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and
 the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to with-
 712 in the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an
 178 agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/
 621 of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida
 ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction
 of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt,
 Announs, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those
 of Tanouzezt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in
 this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant
 and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben,
 Takrekhout in ruins.

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

(p.44)

Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both customarily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is an almost continuous gradation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.